Rutilius Claudius Namatianus

(5th Century)

BRIEFING

Rutilius Claudius Namatianus (fl. 5th century) was a Roman Imperial poet, best known for his Latin poem, *De reditu suo*, in elegiac metre, describing a coastal voyage from Rome to Gaul in 417. The poem was in two books; the exordium of the first and the greater part of the second have been lost. What remains consists of about seven hundred lines.

Whether Rutilius had converted to Christianity (the state church of the Roman Empire during his time) has been a matter of scholarly debate, but in the early 21st century, editors of his work concluded that he had not. Alan Cameron, a leading scholar of Late Antiquity, agrees that he "probably" remained unconverted from Rome's traditional religious practices, but that his hostility was not to Christianity as it was practiced by the vast majority of citizens of the Empire, but rather against the total renunciation of public life advocated by the ascetics.

LIFE

Origins

Rutilius was a native of southern Gaul (Toulouse or perhaps Poitiers), and belonged, like Sidonius Apollinaris, to one of the great governing families of the Gallic provinces. His father, whom he calls Lachanius, had held high offices in Italy and at the imperial court, had been governor of Tuscia (Etruria and Umbria), vicar of Britain, then imperial treasurer (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), imperial recorder (*quaestor*), and governor of Rome (*praefectus urbi*) in 414. The voyage recorded in *De reditu suo* has been variously dated to 415, 416, or 417, but the publication in 1973 of a fragment of the missing portion of the poem, which contains a reference to the second consulship of Constantius III, confirms the date of 417, which had already been argued independently on other grounds by earlier scholars.

Career

Rutilius boasts his career to have been no less distinguished than his father's, and particularly indicates that he had been secretary of state (*magister officiorum*) and governor of the capital (*praefectus urbi*). His poem was written the tempestuous period between the death of Theodosius I (395), and the fall of the usurper Priscus Attalus. During this period he was witness to the career of Stilicho as *de facto* emperor of the West; the hosts of Radagaisus rolled back from Italy, only to sweep over Gaul and Spain; the defeats and triumphs of Alaric I; the three sieges and final sack of Rome; the dissipation of Heraclianus's vast armament; and the fall of seven pretenders to the Western throne.

Religious issues

It is clear that the sympathies of Rutilius were with those who, during this period, dissented from, and when they could, opposed the general tendencies of imperial policy. He himself indicates that he was intimately acquainted with the circle of the great orator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, who scouted Stilicho's compact with the Goths, and who led the Roman senate to support the pretenders Eugenius and Attalus, in the hope of reinstating the gods whom Emperor Julian had failed to save.

While making few direct assertions about historical characters or events, Rutilius' poem compels some important conclusions about the politics and religion of the time. The attitude of the writer towards Paganism is remarkable: the whole poem is intensely Pagan, and is penetrated by the feeling that the world of literature and culture is, and must remain, pagan; that outside of Paganism lies a realm of barbarism. The poet wears an air of exalted superiority over the religious innovators of his day, and entertains a buoyant confidence that the future of the ancient gods of Rome will not belie their glorious past. He scorns invective and apology, and does not hesitate to reveal, with Claudian, a suppressed grief at the indignities put upon the old religion by the new. As a statesman, he is at pains to avoid offending those politic Christian senators over whom pride in their country had at least as great a power as attachment to their new religion. Only once or twice does Rutilius speak directly of Christianity, and then only to attack the monks, whom the secular authorities had hardly as yet recognized, and whom, indeed, only a short time before, a Christian emperor had conscripted by the thousands into the ranks of his army. Judaism could be assailed by Rutilius without wounding either pagans or Christians, but he clearly intimates that he hates it chiefly as the evil root from which the rank plant of Christianity had sprung. However the first Christian missionary in Ireland was a relative and personal friend of Rutilius, Palladius (bishop of Ireland).

Edward Gibbon writes that Honorius rigorously excluded all dissenters to the Catholic Church from holding any office in the state. But Rutilius paints a different picture of political life. His poem portrays a senate at Rome composed of past office-holders (the majority of whom were certainly still pagans), a Christian party whose Christianity was more political than religious, and a prevalent spirit of traditional Roman religious toleration. The atmosphere of the capital, perhaps even of all Italy, was still charged with paganism. The court was far in advance of the people, and the persecuting laws were in large part incapable of execution. Some ecclesiastical historians have fondly imagined that after the sack of Rome the bishop Innocent returned to a position of predominance, but no one who accepts Rutilius' observations can entertain this idea.

Perhaps the most interesting lines in the whole poem are those where Rutilius assails the memory of "dire Stilicho", as he names him. In Rutilius' view, Stilicho, fearing to suffer all that had caused himself to be feared, removed the defences of the Alps and Apennines that the provident gods had interposed between the barbarians and the Eternal City, and planted the cruel Goths, his skinclad minions, in the very sanctuary of the empire: "he plunged an armed foe in the naked vitals of the land, his craft being freer from risk than that of openly inflicted disaster ... May Nero rest from all the torments of the damned, that they may seize on Stilicho; for Nero smote his own mother, but Stilicho the mother of the world!"

This appears to be a uniquely authentic expression of the feelings of perhaps a majority of the Roman senate against Stilicho. He had merely imitated the policy of Theodosius with regard to the barbarians; but even that powerful emperor had met with a passive opposition from the old Roman families. Those who had seen Stilicho surrounded by his Goth bodyguards naturally looked on the Goths who assailed Rome as Stilicho's avengers. Historians of the later empire such as Paulus Orosius believed that Stilicho called in the Goths to increase his sway and was plotting to make his son emperor. Rutilius' poem, however, holds that it was merely to save himself from impending ruin. Although some Christian historians even asserted that Stilicho (a staunch Arian) intended to restore paganism, Rutilius depicts him as its most uncompromising foe, as evidenced by his destruction of the Sibylline books. This alone is sufficient, in the eyes of Rutilius, to account for the disasters that afterwards befell the city, just as Flavius Merobaudes, a generation or two later, traced the miseries of his own day to the overthrow of the ancient rites of Vesta. (For a sharply different view of Stilicho, see Claudian.)

STYLE

Rutilius handles the elegiac couplet with great metrical purity and freedom, and betrays many signs of long study in the elegiac poetry of the Augustan era. His poem's Latin is unusually clean for the times, and is generally classical, both in vocabulary and construction. Although lacking Claudian's genius, Rutilius also lacks his tendency toward gaudiness and exaggeration; the old-fashioned directness of Rutilius contrasts favorably with the labored complexity of Ausonius. More traditional, Rutilius might have better claim to be called "the last of the Roman poets" rather than Claudian or Merobaudes.

Rutilius begins his poem with an almost dithyrambic address to the goddess Roma, "whose glory has ever shone the brighter for disaster, and who will rise once more in her might and confound her barbarian foes". Next, he refers to the destruction of roads and property wrought by the Goths, to the state of the havens at the mouths of the Tiber, and the general decay of nearly all the old commercial ports on the coast. Rutilius even exaggerates the desolation of the once important city of Cosa in Etruria, whose walls have scarcely changed since his time. The port that served Pisa, almost alone of all those visited by Rutilius, is depicted as having retained its prosperity, with villagers celebrating the festival of Osiris.

HISTORY OF THE *DE REDITU SUO* AND ITS EDITIONS

The majority of the existing manuscripts of Rutilius are descendants of a damaged and incomplete ancient manuscript found at the monastery of Bobbio by Giorgio Galbiato, the secretary of Georgius Merula, in 1493. This manuscript has not been seen since comte Claude Alexandre de Bonneval, a general in the service of the Austrian commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy, removed it from the monastery in 1706. The three best witnesses to the lost manuscript are a copy in Vienna (identified by the siglum V) made in 1501 by Jacopo Sannazaro, Filippo Bononi, and a third unknown copyist; a second copy in Rome (identified by the siglum R) made around 1530 by Ioannes Andreas Crucianus; and the *editio princeps* of the poem printed by Giovanni Battista Pio in Bologna in 1520). In 1970 Mirella Ferrari announced the discovery of a small fragment of the Bobbio manuscript, reused in the binding of a manuscript of Virgil now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The fragment, which had apparently been reused before the discovery of the damaged manuscript by Galbiato in 1493, was written in the 7th or 8th century; it preserves the ends of 39 lines from an otherwise lost portion of book 2.

The principal editions since have been those by Kaspar von Barth (1623), Pieter Burman (1731, in his edition of the minor Latin poets, where the poem also appears under the title *Iter*), Ernst Friedrich Wernsdorf (1778, part of a similar collection), August Wilhelm Zumpt (1840), and the critical edition by Lucian Müller (Leipzig, Teubner, 1870), and another by Jules Vessereau (1904); also an annotated edition by Charles Haines Keene, containing a translation by George Francis Savage-Armstrong (1906).

There is some variation of Namatianus' name in the manuscripts. Rutilius Claudius Namatianus comes from R, while V has Rutilius Claudius Numantianus. According to Keene Namatianus is used in *Codex Theodosianus* as the name "of a *magister officiorum* in 412 AD", probably to be identified with the author and therefore has the weight of evidence. Other variants date from a later time and have no authority: Numantinus, Munatianus. Müller and most editors write the poet's name as "Claudius Rutilius Namatianus", instead of Rutilius Claudius Namatianus; but if the identification of the poet's father with the Claudius mentioned in the *Codex Theodosianus* is correct, they are probably wrong.

The latest and fullest edition of Namatianus is by E. Doblhofer. Harold Isbell includes a translation in his anthology, *The Last Poets of Imperial Rome*.

Film

The Italian film *The Voyage Home* is based on Namatianus's work and premiered in 2004

DE REDITU SUO

SIVE

DE REDITU IN PATRIAM

SIVE

ITER

415 p.Ch.n.

Liber Primus

Velocem potius reditum mirabere, lector,
tam cito Romuleis posse carere bonis.
Quid longum toto Romam venerantibus aevo!
Nil umquam longum est, quod sine fine placet.

O quantum et quotiens possum numerare beatos,
nasci felici qui meruere solo,
qui Romanorum procerum generosa propago
ingenitum cumulant urbis honore decus!
Semina virtutum demissa et tradita caelo

non potuere aliis dignius esse locis.
Felices etiam, qui proxima munera primis
sortiti Latias obtinuere domos!
Religiosa patet peregrinae curia laudi
nec putat externos, quos decet esse suos;

ordinis imperio collegarumque fruuntur
et partem genii, quem venerantur, habent:
Quale per aetherios mundani verticis axes
concilium summi credimus esse dei.
At mea dilectis fortuna revellitur oris

indigenamque suum Gallica rura vocant.
Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis,
sed quam grata minus, tam miseranda magis.
Securos levius crimen contemnere cives:
Privatam repetunt publica damna fidem.

Praesentes lacrimas tectis debemus avitis;
prodest admonitus saepe dolore labor;
nec fas ulterius longas nescire ruinas,
quas mora suspensae multiplicavit opis.
Iam tempus laceris post saeva incendia fundis

vel pastorales aedificare casas.
Ipsi quin etiam fontes si mittere vocem
ipsaque si possent arbuta nostra loqui,
cessantem iustis poterant urgere querelis
et desideriis addere vela meis.

Iamiam laxatis carae complexibus urbis
vincimur - et serum vix toleramus iter.
Electum pelagus, quoniam terrena viarum
plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.
Postquam Tuscus ager postquamque Aurelius agger

perpessus Geticas ense vel igne manus
non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte cohercet;
incerto satius credere vela mari.
Crebra reliquendis infigimus oscula portis;
inviti superant limina sacra pedes.

Oramus veniam lacrimis et laude litamus,
in quantum fletus currere verba sinit:
«Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
inter sidereos, Roma, recepta polos;
exaudi, genetrix hominum genetrixque deorum:

Non procul a caelo per tua templa sumus.
Te canimus semperque, sinent dum fata, canemus:
Sospes nemo potest immemor esse tui.
Obruerint citius scelerata oblivia solem
quam tuus e nostro corde recedat honos.

Nam solis radiis aequalia munera tendis,
qua circumfusus fluctuat Oceanus;
volitur ipse tibi, qui continet omnia, Phoebus
eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos.
Te non flammigeris Libye tardavit arenis;

non armata suo reppulit ursa gelu:
Quantum vitalis natura tetendit in axes,
tantum virtuti pervia terrae tuae.
Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam;
profuit iniustis te dominante capi;

dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.
Auctores generis Venerem Martemque fatemur,
Aeneadum matrem Romulidumque patrem;
mitigat armatas victrix clementia vires,

convenit in mores nomen utrumque tuos.
Hinc tibi certandi bona parcendique voluptas:
Quos timuit superat, quos superavit amat.
Inventrix oleae colitur vinique repertor
et qui primus humo pressit aratra puer;

aras Paeoniam meruit medicina per artem,
factus et Alcides nobilitate deus:
Tu quoque, legiferis mundum complexa triumphis,
foedere communi vivere cuncta facis.
Te, dea, te celebrat Romanus ubique resessus

pacificoque gerit libera colla iugo.
Omnia perpetuos quae servant sidera motus
nullum viderunt pulchrius imperium.
Quid simile Assyriis connectere contigit armis?
Medi finitimos condomuere suos;

magni Parthorum reges Macetumque tyranni
mutua per varias iura dedere vices.
Nec tibi nascenti plures animaeque manusque,
sed plus consilii iudiciique fuit.
Iustis bellorum causis nec pace superba

nobilis ad summas gloria venit opes.
Quod regnas minus est quam quod regnare mereris:
Excedis factis grandia fata tuis.
Percensere labor densis decora alta trophaeis,
ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit,

confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus:
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare deos.
Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice rivos,
qua vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas;
Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes;

tale giganteum Graecia laudat opus?
Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris;
consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.

Nec minus et propriis celebrantur roscida venis
totaque nativo moenia fonte sonant.

Frigidus aestivas hinc temperat halitus auras
innocuamque levat purior unda sitim.
Nempe tibi subitus calidarum gurges aquarum
rupit Tarpeias hoste premente vias.
Si foret aeternus, casum fortasse putarem:

Auxilio fluxit qui rediturus erat.
Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia silvas,
vernula qua vario carmine ludit avis.
Vere tuo numquam mulceri desinit annus;
deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hiems.

Erige crinales lauros seniumque sacrati
verticis in virides, Roma, refinge comas.
Aurea turrigero radient diademata cono
perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat.
Abscondat tristem deleta iniuria casum;

contemptus solidet vulnera clausa dolor.
Adversis solemne tuis sperare secunda:
Exemplo caeli ditia damna subis.
Astrorum flammae renovant occasibus ortus;
Lunam finiri cernis, ut incipiat.

Victoris Brenni non distulit Allia poenam;
Samnis servitio foedera saeva luit;
Post multas Pyrrhum clades superata fugasti;
flevit successus Hannibal ipse suos.
Quae mergi nequeunt, nisu maiore resurgunt

exiliuntque imis altius acta vadis;
utque novas vires fax inclinata resumit,
clarior ex humili sorte superna petis.
Porrige victuras Romana in saecula leges
solaque fatales non vereare colos,

quamvis sedecies denis et mille peractis
annus praeterea iam tibi nonus eat.
Quae restant, nullis obnoxia tempora metis,
dum stabunt terrae, dum polus astra feret.
Illud te reperat, quod cetera regna resolvit:

Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.
Ergo age, sacrilegae tandem cadat hostia gentis:
Submittant trepidi perfida colla Getae.
Ditia pacatae dent vectigalia terrae;
impleat augustos barbara praeda sinus.

Aeternum tibi Rhenus aret, tibi Nilus inundet,
altricemque suam fertilis orbis alat;
Quin et fecundas tibi conferat Africa messes,
sole suo dives, sed magis imbre tuo.
Interea et Latiis consurgant horrea sulcis

pinguiaque Hesperio nectare prela fluant.
Ipse triumphali redimitus arundine Tibris
Romuleis famulas usibus aptet aquas;
atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis
devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris.

Pande, precor, gemino pacatum Castore pontum;
temperet aequoream dux Cytherea viam,
si non displicui, regerem cum iura Quirini,
si colui sanctos consuluique patres.
Nam quod nulla meum strinxerunt crimina ferrum,

non sit praefecti gloria, sed populi.
Sive datur patriis vitam componere terris,
sive oculis umquam restituere meis,
fortunatus agam votoque beatior omni,
semper digneris si meminisse mei.»

His dictis iter rripimus; comitantur amici.
Dicere non possunt lumina sicca «vale».
Iamque aliis Romam redeuntibus haeret eunti
Rufius, Albini gloria viva patris,
qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen

et reges Rutulos teste Marone refert.
Huius facundae commissa palatia linguae;
primaevus meruit principis ore loqui.
Rexerat ante puer populos pro consule Poenos:
Aequalis Tyriis terror amorque fuit.

Sedula promisit summos instantia fasces:
Si fas est meritis fidere, consul erit.
Invitum tristis tandem remeare coegi;
corpore divisos mens tamen una tenet.
Tum demum ad naves gradior, qua fronte bicorni

dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat.
Laevus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis;
hospitis Aeneae gloria sola manet.
Et iam nocturnis spatium laxaverat horis
Phoebus Chelarum palliodore polo.

Cunctamur tentare salum portuque sedemus;
nec piget oppositis otia ferre moris,
occidua infido dum saevit gurgite Plias
dumque procellosi temporis ira cadit.
Respectare iuvat vicinam saepius urbem

et montes visu deficiente sequi;
quaque duces oculi grata regione fruuntur,
dum se quod cupiunt cernere posse putant.
Nec locus ille mihi cognoscitur indice fumo,
qui dominas arces et caput orbis habet

(quamquam signa levis fumi commendat Homerus,
dilecto quotiens surgit in astra solo),
sed caeli plaga candidior tractusque serenus
signat septenis culmina clara iugis.
Illic perpetui soles atque ipse videtur,

quem sibi Roma facit, purior esse dies.
Saepius attonitae resonant circensibus aures;
nuntiat accensus plena theatra favor;
pulsato notae redduntur ab aethere voces,
vel quia perveniunt vel quia fingit amor.

Explorata fides pelagi ter quinque diebus
dum melior lunae fideret aura novae.
Tum discessurus studiis urbique remitto
Palladium, generis spemque decusque mei;
facundus iuvenis Gallorum nuper ab arvis

missus Romani discere iura fori.
Ille meae secum dulcissima vincula curae,
filius affectu, stirpe propinquus habet.
Cuius Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras
nunc postliminium pacis amare docet;

leges restituit libertatemque reducit
et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.
Solvimus aurorae dubio, quo tempore primum
agnosci patitur redditus arva color.

Progredimur parvis per littora proxima cymbis,

quorum perfugio crebra pateret humus.
Aestivos penetrent oneraria carbasa fluctus:
Tutior autumnus mobilitate fugae.
Alsia praelegitur tellus Pyrgique recedunt,
nunc villae grandes, oppida parva prius.

Iam Caeretanos demonstrat navita fines:
Aevo deposuit nomen Agylla vetus.
Stringimus +expugnatum+ et fluctu et tempore Castrum:
Index semiruti porta vetusta loci.
Praesidet exigui formatus imagine saxi,

qui pastorali cornua fronte gerit.
Multa licet priscum nomen deleverit aetas,
hoc Inui Castrum fama fuisse putat,
seu Pan Tyrrhenis mutavit Maenala silvis,
sive sinus patrios incola Faunus init;

dum renovat largo mortalia semina fetu,
fingitur in Venerem pronior esse deus.
Ad Centumcellas forti defleximus austro;
tranquilla puppes in statione sedent.
Molibus aequoreum concluditur amphitheatrum

angustosque aditus insula facta tegit;
attollit geminas turres bifidoque meatu
faucibus artatis pandit utrumque latus.
Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portu:
Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates,

interior medias sinus invitatus in aedes
instabilem fixis aera nescit aquis;
qualis in Euboicis captiva natatibus unda
sustinet alterno brachia lenta sono.
Nosse iuvat Tauri dictas de nomine Thermas,

nec mora difficilis milibus ire tribus.
Non illic gustu latices vitiantur amaro
Lymphaque fumifico sulphure tincta calet:
Purus odor mollisque sapor dubitare lavantem
cogit, qua melius parte petantur aquae.

Credere si dignum famae, flagrantia taurus
investigato fonte lavacra dedit,
ut solet excussis pugnam praeludere glebis,
stipite cum rigido cornua prona terit:
Sive deus faciem mentitus et arma iuvenci,

noluit ardentis dona latere soli;
qualis Agenorei rapturus gaudia furti
per freta virgineum sollicitavit onus.
Ardua non solos deceant miracula Graios.
Auctorem pecudem fons Heliconis habet:

Elicitas simili credamus origine nymphas,
Musarum latices ungula fodit equi:
Haec quoque Pieriis spiracula comparat antris
carmine Messalae nobilitatus ager;
intrantemque capit discedentemque moratur

postibus adfixum dulce poema sacris.
Hic est qui primo seriem de consule ducit,
usque ad Publicolas si redeamus avos;
hic et praefecti nutu praetoria rexit,
sed menti et linguae gloria maior inest;

hic docuit, qualem poscat facundia sedem:
Ut bonus esse velit, quisque disertus erit.

Roscida puniceo fulsere crepuscula caelo:
Pandimus obliquo lintea flexa sinu.
Paulisper litus fugimus Munione vadosum:

Suspecto trepidant ostia parva salo.
Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus,
quas premit aestivae saepe paludis odor;
sed nemorosa viret densis vicinia lucis
pineaque extremis fluctuat umbra fretis.

Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas
et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae.
Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
promere, sed risum dissimulare piget:
Dicuntur cives quondam migare coacti

muribus infestos deseruisse lares;
Credere maluerim Pygmaeae damna cohortis
et coniuratos in sua bella grues.
Haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus;
vergentem sequitur mollior aura diem.

Inter castrorum vestigia sermo retexit
Sardoam Lepido praecipitante fugam.
Littore namque Cosae cognatos depulit hostes
virtutem Catuli Roma secuta ducis.
Ille tamen Lepidus peior, civilibus armis

qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus,
qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam
obruit auxiliis urbe pavente novis.
Insidias paci moliri tertius ausus
tristibus excepit congrua facta reis.

Quartus Caesareo dum vult inrepere regno,
incesti poenam solvit adulterii.
Nunc quoque - sed melius de nostris fama queretur:
Iudex posteritas semina dira notet.
Nominibus certos credam decurrere mores?

Moribus an potius nomina certa dari?
Quidquid id est, mirus Latiis annalibus ordo,
quod Lepidum totiens reccidit ense malum.
Necdum decessis pelago permittimur umbris;
natus vicino vertice ventus adest.

Tenditur in medias mons Argentarius undas
ancipitique iugo caerula curva premit.
Transversos colles bis ternis milibus artat;
circuitu ponti ter duodena patet:
Qualis per geminos fluctus Ephyreius Isthmos

Ionias bimari littore findit aquas.
Vix circumvehimur sparsae dispendia rupis,
nec sinuosa gravi cura labore caret;
mutantur totiens vario spiramina flexu:
quae modo profuerant vela, repente nocent.

Eminus Igilii silvosa cacumina miror,
quam fraudare nefas laudis honore suae.
Haec proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus
sive loci ingenio seu domini genio,
gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis

tamquam longinquo dissociata mari.
Haec multos lacera suscepit ab urbe fugatos,
hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
Plurima terreno populaverat aequora bello
contra naturam classe timendus eques:

Unum mira fides vario discrimine portum
tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.
Tangimus Umbronem; non est ignobile flumen,
quod tuto trepidas excipit ore rates:
Tam facilis pronis semper patet alveus undis,

in pontum quotiens saeva procella ruit.
Hic ego tranquillae volui succedere ripae,
sed nautas avidos longius ire sequor.
Sic festinantem ventusque diesque reliquit;
nec proferre pedem nec revocare licet.

Littorea noctis requiem metamur arena;
dat vespertinos myrtea silva focos.
Parvula subiectis facimus tentoria remis,
transversus subito culmine contus erat.
Lux aderat: Tonsis progressi stare videmur,

sed cursum prorae terra relicta probat.
Occurrit Chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis,
qua nihil uberius Norica gleba tulit;
non Biturix largo potior strictura camino,
nec quae Sardonico cespite massa fluit.

Plus confert populis ferri fecunda creatrix
quam Tartesiaci glarea fulva Tagi.
Materies vitiis aurum letale parandis,
auri caecus amor ducit in omne nefas:
Aurea legitimas expugnant munera taedas

virgineosque sinus aureus imber emit,
auro victa fides munitas decipit urbes,
auri flagitiis ambitus ipse furit.
At contra ferro squalentia rura coluntur,
ferro vivendi prima reperta via est;

saecula semideum, ferrati nescia Martis,
ferro crudeles sustinuere feras:
Humanis manibus non sufficit usus inermis,
si non sint aliae ferrea tela manus.
His mecum pigri solabar taedia venti,

dum resonat variis vile celeuma modis.
Lassatum cohibet vicina Faleria cursum,
quamquam vix medium Phoebus haberet iter.
Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
mulcebant sacris pectora fessa iocis.

Illo quippe die tandem revocatus Osiris
excitat in fruges germina laeta novas.
Egressi villam petimus lucoque vagamur:
Stagna placent saepto deliciosa vado.
Ludere lascivos intra vivaria pisces

gurgitis inclusi laxior unda sinit.
Sed male pensavit requiem stationis amoenae
hospite conductor durior Antiphate.
Namque loci querulus curam Iudaeus agebat,
humanis animal dissociale cibis.

Vexatos frutices, pulsatas imputat algas
damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.
Reddimus obscenae convicia debita genti,
quae genitale caput propudiosa metit,
radix stultitiae, cui frigida sabbata cordi

sed cor frigidius religione sua.
Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno,
tamquam lassati mollis imago dei.
Cetera mendacis deliramenta catastae

nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.

Atque utinam numquam Iudaea subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis imperioque Titi!
Latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt
victoresque suos natio victa premit.
Adversus surgit Boreas, sed nos quoque remis

surgere certamus, cum tegit astra dies.
Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus,
qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum.
Non illic positas extollit in aethera moles
lumine nocturno conspicienda Pharos,

sed speculam validae rupis sortita vetustas,
qua fluctus domitos arduus urget apex,
castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus,
praesidium terris indiciumque fretis.
Agnosci nequeunt aevi monumenta prioris:

Grandia consumpsit moenia tempus edax.
Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris,
ruderibus latis tecta sepulta iacent.
Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi:
Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

Laetior hic nostras crebrescit fama per aures:
Consilium Romam paene redire fuit.
Hic praefecturam sacrae cognoscimus urbis
delatam meritis, dulcis amice, tuis.
Optarem verum complecti carmine nomen,

sed quosdam refugit regula dura pedes:
Cognomen versu neris, carissime Rufi;
illo te dudum pagina nostra canit.
Festa dies pridemque meos dignata penates
poste coronato vota secunda colat.

Exornent virides communia gaudia rami:
Provecta est animae portio magna meae.
Sic mihi, sic potius placeat geminata potestas;
per quem malueram, rursus honore fruor.
Currere curamus velis Aquilone reverso,

cum primum roseo fulsit Eous equo.
Incipit obscuros ostendere Corsica montes
nubiferumque caput concolor umbra levat:
Sic dubitanda solet gracili vanescere cornu
defessisque oculis luna reperta latet.

Haec ponti brevitas auxit mendacia famae:
Armentale ferunt quippe natasse pecus,
tempore Cyrnaeas quo primum venit in oras
forte secuta vagum femina Corsa bovem.
Processu pelagi iam se Capraria tollit;

squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
Munera fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur.
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat?

Quaenam pervasi rabies tam stulta cerebri,
dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati?
Sive suas repetunt factorum ergastula poenas,
tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument.
Sic nimiae bilis morbum assignavit Homerus

Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus;
nam iuveni offenso saevi post tela doloris

dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.
In Volaterranum, vero Vada nomine, tractum
ingressus dubii tramitis alta lego.

Despectat prorae custos clavumque sequentem
dirigit et puppim voce monente regit.
Incertas gemina discriminat arbore fauces
defixasque offert limes uterque sudes.
Illis proceras mos est adnectere lauros

conspicuas ramis et fruticante coma,
ut praebente viam densi symplegade limi
servet inoffensas semita clara notas.
Illic me rapidus consistere corus adegit,
qualis silvarum frangere lustra solet.

Vix tuti domibus saevos toleravimus imbres:
Albini patuit proxima villa mei.
Namque meus, quem Roma meo subiunxit honori,
per quem iura meae continuata togae.
Non exspectatos pensavit laudibus annos,

vitae flore puer, sed gravitate senex.
Mutua germanos iunxit reverentia mores
et favor alternis crevit amicitiis.
Praetulit ille meas, cum vincere posset, habenas,
at decessoris maior amore fuit.

Subiectas villae vacat aspectare salinas;
Namque hoc censetur nomine salsa palus,
qua mare terrenis declive canalibus intrat
multifidosque lacus parvula fossa rigat.
Ast ubi flagrantes admonuit Sirius ignes,

cum pallent herbae, cum sitit omnis ager,
tum cataractarum claustris excluditur aequor,
ut fixos latices torrida duret humus.
Concipiunt acrem nativa coagula Phoebum
et gravis aestivo crusta calore coit;

haud aliter quam cum glacie riget horridus Hister
grandiaque adstricto flumine plaustra vehit.
Rimetur solitus naturae expendere causas
inque pari dispar fomite quaerat opus:
iuncta fluenta gelu conspecto sole liquescunt

et rursus liquidae sole gelantur aquae.
O quam saepe malis generatur origo bonorum!
Tempestas dulcem fecit amara moram:
Victurinus enim, nostrae pars maxima mentis,
congressu explevit mutua vota suo.

Errantem Tuscis considere compulit agris
et colere externos capta Tolosa lares.
Nec tantum duris nituit sapientia rebus:
Pectore non alio prosperiora tulit.
Conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule

et quaecumque ferox arva Britannus arat,
qua praefectorum vicibus frenata potestas
perpetuum magni foenus amoris habet.
Extremum pars illa quidem discessit in orbem,
sed tamquam media rector in urbe fuit.

Plus palmae est illos inter voluisse placere,
inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor.
Illustris nuper sacrae comes additus aulae
contempsit summos ruris amore gradus.
Hunc ego complexus ventorum adversa fefelli,

dum videor patriae iam mihi parte frui.
Lutea protulerat sudos Aurora iugales:
Antemnas tendi littoris aura iubet.
Inconcussa vehit tranquillus aplustria flatus,
mollia securo vela rudente tremunt.

Adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon
inter Pisanum Cyrnaicumque latus.
Adversus scopulos, damni monumenta recentis:
Perdius hic vivo funere civis erat.
Noster enim nuper iuvenis maioribus amplis,

nec censu inferior coniugiove minor,
impulsus furiis homines terrasque reliquit
et turpem latebram credulus exul agit.
Infelix putat illuvie caelestia pasci
seque premit laesis saevior ipse deis.

Num, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta venenis?
Tunc mutabuntur corpora, nunc animi.
Inde Triturritam petimus: Sic villa vocatur,
quae latet expulsis insula paene fretis;
namque manu iunctis procedit in aequora saxis,

quique domum posuit, condidit ante solum.
Contiguum stupui portum, quem fama frequentat
Pisarum emporio divitiisque maris.
Mira loci facies: Pelago pulsatur aperto,
inque omnes ventos littora nuda patent;

non ullus tegitur per bracchia tuta recessus,
Aeolias possit qui prohibere minas,
sed procera suo praetexitur alga profundo
molliter offensae non nocitura rati,
et tamen insanas cedendo interrigat undas

nec sinit ex alto grande volumen agi.
Tempora navigii clarus reparaverat Eurus,
sed mihi Protadium visere cura fuit.
Quem qui forte velit certis cognoscere signis,
virtutis speciem corde vidente petat.

Nec magis efficiet similem pictura colore
quam quae de meritis mixta figura venit.
Aspicienda procul certo prudentia vultu
formaque iustitiae suspicienda micat.
Sit fortasse minus, si laudet Gallia civem:

Testis Roma sui praesulis esse potest.
Substituit patriis mediocres Umbria sedes:
Virtus fortunam fecis utramque parem.
Mens invicta viri pro magis parva tuetur,
pro parvis animo magna fuere suo.

Exiguus regum rectores cespes habebat
et Cincinnatos iugera pauca dabant:
Haec etiam nobis non inferiora feruntur
vomere Serrani Fabriciique foco.
Puppibus ergo meis fida in statione locatis

ipse vehor Pisas, qua solet ire pedes.
Praebet equos, offert etiam carpenta tribunus,
ex commilitio carus et ipse mihi,
officiis regerem cum regia tecta magister
armigerasque pii principis excubias.

Alpheae veterem contemplor originis urbem,
quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Ausur aquis.
Conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt:
Intratur modico frons patefacta solo.

Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen

et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit.
Ante diu quam Troiugenas fortuna penates
Laurentinorum regibus insereret,
Elide deductas suscepit Etruria Pisas
nominis indicio testificata genus.

Hic oblata mihi sancti genitoris imago,
Pisano proprio quam posuere foro.
Laudibus amissi cogor lacrimare parentis;
fluxerunt madidis gaudia maesta genis.
Namque pater quondam Tyrrhenis praefuit arvis,

fascibus et senis credita iura dedit.
Narrabat, memini, multos emensus honores,
Tuscorum regimen plus placuisse sibi;
nam neque opum curam, quamvis sit magna, sacrarum
nec ius quaesturae grata fuisse magis;

ipsam, si fas est, postponere praefecturam
pronior in Tuscos non dubitat amor.
Nec fallebatur, tam carus et ipse probatis:
Aeternas grates mutua cura canit,
constantemque sibi pariter mitemque fuisse

insinuant natis, qui meminere, senes.
Ipsum me gradibus non degenerasse parentis
gaudent et duplici sedulitate fovent.
Haec eadem, cum Flaminiae regionibus irem,
splendoris patrii saepe reperta fides:

Famam Lachanii veneratur numinis instar
inter terrigenas Lydia tota suos.
Grata bonis priscos retinet provinicia mores
dignaque rectores semper habere bonos,
qualis nunc Decius, Lucilli nobile pignus,

per Corythi populos arva beata regit.
Nec mirum, magni si redditus indole nati
felix tam simili posteritate pater.
Huius vulnificis satira ludente Camenis
nec Turnus potior nec Iuvenalis erit;

restituit veterem censoria lima pudorem,
dumque malos carpit, praecipit esse bonos.
Non olim sacri iustissimus arbiter auri
circumsistenses reppulit Harpyias?
Harpyias, quarum discerpitur unguibus orbis,

quae pede glutineo quod tetigere trahunt,
quae luscum faciunt Argum, quae Lyncea caecum:
Inter custodes publica furta volant.
Sed non Lucillum Briareia praeda fefellit
totque simul manibus restitit una manus.

Iamque Triturritam Pisaea ex urbe reversus
aptabam nitido pendula vela Noto,
cum subitis tectus nimbis insorduit aether;
sparserunt radios nubila rupta vagos.
Substitimus. Quis enim sub tempestate maligna

insanituris audeat ire fretis?
Otia vicinis terimus navalia silvis
sectandisque iuvat membra movere feris.
Instrumenta parat venandi villicus hospes
atque olidum doctas nosse cubile canes.

Funditur insidiis et rara fraude plagarum
terribilisque cadit fulmine dentis aper,

quem Meleagrei vereantur adire lacerti,
qui laxet nodos Amphitryonidae.
Tum responsuros persultat bucina colles

fitque reportando carmine praeda levis.
Interea madidis non desinit Africus alis
continuos picea nube negare dies.
Iam matutinis Hyades occasibus udae;
iam latet hiberno conditus imbre Lepus,

exiguum radiis, sed magnis fluctibus, astrum,
quo madidam nullus navita linquat humum;
namque procelloso subiungitur Orioni
aestiferumque Canem roscida praeda fugit.
Vidimus excitis pontum favescere arenis

atque eructato vertice rura tegi,
qualiter Oceanus mediis infunditur agris,
destituenda vago cum premit arva salo,
sive alio refluus nostro conliditur orbe,
sive corusca suis sidera pascit aquis.

Liber Secundus

Nondum longus erat nec multa volumina passus,
iure suo poterat longior esse liber;
taedia continuo timuit cessura labori,
sumere ne lector iuge paveret opus.

Saepe cibis affert serus fastidia finis,
gratior est modicis haustibus unda siti;
intervalla viae fessis praestare videtur
qui notat inscriptus milia crebra lapis.
Partimur trepidum per opuscula bina ruborem,

quem satius fuerat sustinuisse semel.
Tandem nimbosa maris obsidione solutis
Pisano portu contigit alta sequi.
Arridet placidum radiis crispantibus aequor
et sulcata levi murmurat unda sono.

Incipiunt Appennini devexa videri,
qua fremit aerio monte repulsa Thetis.
Italiam rerum dominam qui cingere visu
et totam pariter cernere mente velit,
inveniet quernae similem procedere frondi

artatam laterum conveniente sinu.
Milia per longum decies centena teruntur
a Ligurum terris ad freta Sicaniae;
in latum variis damnosa amfractibus intrat
Tyrrheni rabies Hadriacique salis.

Qua tamen est iuncti maris angustissima tellus,
triginta et centum milia sola patet.
Diversas medius mons obliquatur in undas,
qua fert atque refert Phoebus uterque diem:
Urget Dalmaticos Eoo vertice fluctus

caerulaque occiduis frangit Etrusca iugis.
Si factum certa mundum ratione fatemur
consiliumque dei machina tanta fuit,
excubiis Latiis praetexuit Appenninum
claustraque montanis vix adeunda viis.

Invidiam timuit natura parumque putavit
Arctois Alpes opposuisse minis,
sicut vallavit multis vitalia membris
nec semel inclusit quae pretiosa tulit.

Iam tum multiplici meruit munimine cingi

sollicitosque habuit Roma futura deos.
Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
proditor arcani quod fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
crudelis summis miscuit ima furor,

dumque timet, quidquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
immisit Latiae barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem
illatae cladis liberiore dolo.
Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patebat

et captiva prius quam caperetur erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis:
Ante Sibyllinae fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Althaeam consumpti funere torris,
Nisaeum crinem flere putantur aves;

at Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni
et plenas voluit praecipitare colos.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis;
consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces;
hic immortalem, mortalem perculit ille,

hic mundi matrem perculit, ille suam.
Sed diverticulo fuimus fortasse loquaces:
Carmine propositum iam repetamus iter.
Advehimur celeri candentia moenia lapsu;
nominis est auctor sole corusca soror.

Indigenis superat ridentia lilia saxis
et levi radiat picta nitore silex;
dives marmoribus telus, quae luce coloris
provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.